

Radical Abolitionist.

"PROCLAIM LIBERTY THROUGHOUT ALL THE LAND, UNTO ALL THE INHABITANTS THEREOF."—LEV. XXV. 10.

VOLUME II.]

NEW YORK, DECEMBER, 1856.

[NUMBER 5.]

The Radical Abolitionist.

WILLIAM GOODELL, Editor.

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ANNUAL MEETING

OF THE AMERICAN ABOLITION SOCIETY.

The First Annual Meeting of the American Abolition Society, agreeably to the call of the Corresponding Secretary, by order of the Executive Committee, was held at the Rooms of the Society, Wednesday, Oct. 22, at ten o'clock A. M.

Lewis Tappan, one of the Vice Presidents, took the chair.

H. D. Sharpe was appointed Secretary, pro tem. Rev. S. S. Jocelyn offered prayer.

Arthur Tappan, Treasurer, presented his Report, which was referred to an Auditing Committee, consisting of H. D. Sharpe and Alex. McDonald.

William Goodell, Corresponding Secretary, submitted the Annual Report, which was referred to the Executive Committee, with power.

On motion, a Committee consisting of Messrs. Warner and Whiting, was appointed by the Chair to nominate officers for the ensuing year.

The following persons, on nomination, as above, were elected, by vote of the Society, officers for the ensuing year, viz.—

President—GERRIT SMITH.

Vice Presidents—Lewis Tappan, New York—Samuel McFarland, Pennsylvania—A. B. Burdick, Rhode Island—J. W. North, Minnesota—John R. Forest, Vermont—C. C. Foote, Michigan—T. B. Hudson, Ohio—Hiram Pitts, Illinois—Elias S. Gilbert, Iowa—John G. Fee, Kentucky.

Arthur Tappan, Treasurer.

William Goodell, Corresponding Secretary.

Thomas Hamilton, Recording Secretary.

Executive Committee, (additional), James McCune Smith, Simeon S. Jocelyn, J. R. Barbour, George Whipple, Samuel Wilde, H. D. Sharpe, William E. Whiting, Max Lindenschwartz, Henry H. Garnet, James Warner, Alex. McDonald, (all of New York city and

vicinity.) Frederick Douglass, Rochester, N. Y. Elnathan Davis, Fitchburgh, Mass. Isaac T. Hutchins, West Killingly, Conn.

Auditors—William E. Whiting and H. D. Sharpe.

On motion, the Society adjourned *sine die*.

H. D. SHARPE, Sec. pro tem.

TREASURER'S REPORT,

For the year ending Oct. 22, 1856.

RECEIVED.

Balance from Wm. E. Whiting, Tr.	
Central Ab. Com.	\$ 183 88
Donations from various individuals	4131 54
Subscriptions to Rad. Abolitionist	916 39
From the sale of Publications	568 65
" " P. O. stamps	6 90
" Agents	807 15
	\$6614 51

EXPENDED.

For paper	\$928 23
Printing Radical Abolitionist	434 40
" Documents	191 42
Salary of Corresponding Secretary	1100 00
Travelling expenses	38 16
Clerk hire	619 00
Office expenses, as boy hire, folding, &c.	474 75
Advertising	264 40
Publications	277 79
Expenses of Conventions	97 70
Agents	1004 98
Postage	183 81
Rent of offices	143 75
Donations to other presses	200 00
National Era, for mailing April No. of Radical Abolitionist	27 00
	\$5985 39

Balance in Treasury, \$629 12
ARTHUR TAPPAN, Treasurer.

H. D. Sharpe, } Auditors.
Alex. McDonald, }

ANNUAL REPORT.

The Executive Committee of the American Abolition Society, in presenting their first Annual Report, deem it proper to state the objects of their organization, and the measures which distinguish it from other anti-slavery societies, of earlier date.

In common with such societies, originating within the last twenty-three years, this new society regards the practice of slaveholding as being essentially and inherently sinful, and criminal. It accordingly maintains the duty and safety of immediate and unconditional emancipation by the master, as well as the immediate, total, and unconditional abolition of the slave system, and the prohibition of slave-

holding, by the action of the Civil Government, in its legislative, judiciary, and executive departments.

DISTINCTIVE VIEWS.

Giving prominence to the measure of abolition by the action of civil Government, (to the functions of which, the protection of rights appertains), this Society directs its attention with marked distinctness to the field of political action, yet not in neglect or disparagement of moral suasion, religious influence, and the appropriate testimony and action of churches and ecclesiastical bodies, since the character of the political action it advocates is such only as has its basis in the fundamental principles of morality and religion—the administration of impartial justice—the merciful protection of humanity and of human rights, precisely where, in this country, they most stand in need of protection.—Moral suasion and religious influence they regard as means to the end, and that end, the total abolition of the slave system, which is always, in some form, and wherever it takes place, a political act.

Regarding the people of this country as constituting ONE NATION—a nation remarkably tenacious of its nationality, a nation having a historical unity, running back even of its Independence (in the "Articles of Association," which preceded independence), and a Unity and a Nationality proclaimed in its Declaration of Independence, and ever since vindicated and maintained as inviolable—the founders of this Society, considered the sin of American Slavery to be a National sin—which the Nation has always been bound to abolish, and from the responsibility of which it is impossible that the Nation can ever escape, by any alleged peculiarities in the structure of its National Government—since no nation or community can, by its own act, divest itself of the moral responsibilities imposed upon it by the Creator, or existing in the nature of things.

Entertaining these views, they could not content themselves, either with the proposed measure of separating the non-slaveholding from the slaveholding States on the one hand, nor with attempted measures for merely preventing the extension of slavery on the other. To both of these proposed measures, (as substitutes for direct abolition), they objected that such measures would not liberate a single slave, that their most successful consummation, would leave all the slaves still in their chains, and leave the people of the Nation, Northern and Southern, unrelieved from the responsibility of the continuance of this gigantic crime. They could not perceive anything, either in the disbanding of the Nation, nor in the preservation of its new territories from the operation of the National

sin and curse, any work of supererogation sufficiently meritorious to atone for the neglect of the great national duty of undoing the great national wrong, and conferring freedom on the enslaved.

On a careful examination, moreover, of the Constitution of their country, they became convinced that it constituted a NATIONAL GOVERNMENT "to establish justice, and secure the blessings of liberty," for "the people of the United States and their posterity." So far from its containing any provisions inconsistent with its declared objects, they were convinced that it contained ample provisions for carrying them into effect—that the Federal Government, by the Constitution, was not merely authorized and enabled but was required and obligated to carry out the great objects set forth in the Constitution itself, as the foundation and end of the National Government. They, therefore, organized their new Society by adopting a Constitution of which the following articles are the leading ones.

ART. I. This Society shall be called the American Abolition Society.

ART. II. Its object shall be to secure the immediate and unconditional abolition of American Slavery.

ART. III. Its leading sentiments are these:

1. Slaveholding is sinful, illegal, and unconstitutional. It has no right to be in church or in the state. It is to be excluded from the former as a sin, and prohibited by the latter as a crime. It is not sanctioned by the Bible or the Constitution, but is condemned by both.

2. It is the duty of the Federal Government, in all its departments, to suppress slaveholding throughout the United States.

3. It is the duty of the several State Governments to sustain the Federal Government in this measure, to protect their citizens, and all who touch their soil, from seizures by kidnappers or slaveholders, under the Fugitive Slave Bill, or otherwise; to make all attempts at the execution of that unconstitutional and atrocious Act a penal offence; and to extend the right of suffrage and eligibility to office to all their citizens, irrespective of race or complexion.

4. It is the duty of our citizens, at the ballot box, to provide State and National administrations that will make these measures paramount objects of their activity: to secure a judiciary that will execute justice; to vote for such candidates for office, and for such only, as are tried friends of the enslaved, and publicly known to be earnestly engaged in promoting these measures.

5. It is the duty of Christians to hold no church relations that involve religious fellowship or ecclesiastical connection with slaveholders. It is also their duty to sustain no Missionary Society having complicity with slaveholding, nor any Tract Society, or other religious publishing Society, that does not expose and rebuke the heinous sin of slaveholding, in common with other sins.

ART. IV. The action of the Society will be directed to the furtherance of its objects, the propagation of its principles, the advocacy and promotion of its proposed public measures in all suitable ways; particularly by personal example, and by the publication and circulation, of cheap tracts, the employment of lecturers,

and assisting to sustain a periodical adapted to these purposes.

ART. V. Any person approving these objects, principles and measures, and pledged to their support, by effort and example, may become a member of this Society, by assenting to its Constitution, and contributing to its funds.

OPERATIONS OF THE PAST YEAR.

WHY LIMITED.

In estimating the operations of our Society, it is to be borne in mind that this is our *first* year, and that the distinct and definite features of our platform precluded us from indulging the hope that we should receive material aid from the great majority of those who, in some form, or on some grounds, consider themselves opposed to slavery, in some vague sense, or at least, to the "aggressions of the Slave Power." We understand this disadvantage of our position, in a financial view. But we console ourselves with the reflection that the *amount* of receipts and expenditures—the quantity of printing, the number of lectures, of conventions, and of smaller meetings, important as they are, are items that the cause cannot afford to augment at the expense of suppressing important truth—the very truth that the nation most needs to hear. Could we increase our operations an hundred fold, by keeping our distinctive principles and measures out of sight, or by thrusting them into the back ground, we should feel that the cause would lose every thing and gain nothing by the apparent increase of effort. It is the *truth* that the nation needs—the *whole* truth—not those broken segments of disjointed or half-truths, which so frequently do the work of falsehood.

There are truths respecting slavery and emancipation that were, twenty years ago, contested, but which are now sufficiently understood and conceded. The *exclusive* utterance of these would give little or no offence, now—but, standing alone—would do little if any good. What is mainly needed, now, is to give the right direction, to the anti-slavery convictions already produced. Unless this be done, the sympathies as well as the convictions of the people, however healthful and desirable in themselves, so far as they go, will be liable to be spunged up, and expended in efforts that will never benefit the slave or the country. The Colonization enterprise is not the only one by which the friends of liberty have been decoyed into the support of the *very* system for the overthrow of which they supposed themselves to be contributing. No good cause makes any deep lodgment in the hearts of the people without encountering the danger of its falling into the hands of artful men, who will have the address to give it such a direction as may best subserve their own sinister ends. Particularly is this true of political reforms.

And besides this, even among earnest and honest men, there is frequently needed greater outlays of expenditure, to put the car of reform on the *right track*, than there is to raise the *steam* sufficient to carry it onward. It was so, in the Temperance cause. And there, as in the anti-slavery cause, the work most needful to be done was least appreciated by a majority of the friends of the cause, especially by those apparently directing the general movement, and

contributing and disbursing the greater part of the funds.

Notoriously it was *against* the influence of *these* that the presses and the lecturers in favor of "totalism" and "prohibition" were sustained for a series of years.

NECESSITY OF GREATER EFFORTS.

But we invite attention to the obvious consideration that all these reasons why thorough, radical, and well-considered reformatory principles and measures seldom or never receive the pecuniary support that is *needed* to provide for the adequate promulgation of them by the press and the living speaker; are nevertheless the very same reasons that *ought* to stir up all the friends of a good cause to make their chief contributions and to put forth their most vigorous efforts in that direction. Most men are most forward to give where they see others give; but this, as already noticed, is often in the direction least needed. When a point has already been carried, it loses its unpopularity and finds patrons. It is the point *remaining to be carried*, that lacks advocates and the pecuniary sinews of such advocacy.

It is a source of pecuniary profit now to publish journals that advocate mere "non extension." Large fortunes are making—and have already been made—by such efforts. The road to future political preferment, it is now believed, is opposition to "the aggressions of the Slave power" and the advocacy of "freedom in Kansas." Not so with journals and public speakers who plead for the direct and present deliverance of the enslaved. *These*, in order to exist and operate, at all, must be sustained by the contributions of those who are in favor of those objects. And if the numbers the zeal, and the liberality of these are to be estimated by the contributions of the past year in that direction, it must be acknowledged that the estimate must be a very moderate one.

DOINGS OF THE COMMITTEE—DIFFICULTIES IN THE WAY.

The Executive Committee has endeavored to do the best it could with the very limited means at its disposal. The press and the living speaker have been the chief instrumentalities employed by them. In the selection of these they have endeavored to apportion their appropriations in the manner best combining economy with efficiency, and adaptation to the wants of the people. And their selection has necessarily been modified by the limits within the range of which they have found themselves able to operate.

They had hoped to have employed a greater number of lecturers. But with the small amount of funds at their disposal, they have not been able to do as much in that department as they desired. The time seems to have gone by, in which a large number of competent lecturers can be obtained on the scanty allowances which it has heretofore been customary to award to them. Scores of Temperance and Anti-Slavery lecturers were once in the field, whose talents would have commanded the most eligible positions in the pulpit, at the bar, or in legislative halls, had they chosen the course which leads to such stations. The greater part of these have been either worn out, or starved out, or driven into other business for a livelihood. And younger men of talents have not been allured into their footsteps. It is indeed

true that the lecturers who aim to amuse and charm their hearers, or to instruct them where in they *desire* to be instructed, are more and more liberally patronized. But those whose teachings would correct or reprove them, are becoming more and more unwelcome and obsolete. The wants of the cause, in the mean time, require an equally faithful, zealous, and uncompromising type of lecturers, and in some respects, even more competent. It is not now sufficient to denounce slavery, to condemn "dough-faces," to expose the servility of politicians, and the derelictions of the clergy, to demonstrate the sinfulness of slaveholding, the duty and safety of immediate emancipation, and to show up the absurdities and self contradictions of opposers. What is *more* needed now, is to show the people of the free States what *they* have to do, and *how* it is to be done—the responsibilities resting upon *them*, and especially to put them on their guard against the policy of postponement, and gradualism, and of substitutes for abolition, in all the varieties and under all the disguises in which they are now presented by scheming politicians. We need lecturers who can do this, and who, in doing it, can show the utter illegality of slavery, and the constitutional power and duty of the American Government, to suppress it, by securing the personal liberty of each and every one of its subjects. The Committee have found but few whose services could be secured on terms within their reach, and whose qualifications, including intelligence, self-denial, and zeal, at the same time, rendered them suitable coadjutors in the great work.

USES OF THE PRESS—DEPOSITORY.

Under these circumstances, and in consideration of the comparative cheapness of printed appeals, and the facilities for reaching with them, all parts of the country, the Committee have given prominence to that method of disseminating their principles. They have done this, in part, by establishing a Depository at their Office, 48 Beekman street, New York, for the sale of anti-slavery books, pamphlets, and tracts, including, *particularly*, such as they deem adapted to the present crisis, and to the vindication of the distinctive views and measures of this Society. Under their direction, and at their expense, a number of new pamphlets and tracts, of *that distinctive character*, have been written and published, and others are in preparation. Besides *sales* of these, which have been considerable, the Committee have expended a part of their means in the discretionary supply, gratuitously, of pamphlets and tracts, to those who have manifested a special desire for them, or to those to whom it was deemed particularly desirable to communicate the information contained in them. Each member of both Houses of Congress, has, in this manner, been furnished with a copy of Spooner's "Unconstitutionality of Slavery," and with some cheaper documents and pamphlets. In no instance has any of these publications been returned to us, or any displeasure manifested on account of our sending them. We have no reason to doubt that, in most cases, they have been attentively perused. And in some instances, it is known that their influence has been decided and salutary.

PUBLIC JOURNALS.

Another mode of using the press has been by making limited appropriations for the assistance and encouragement of talented editors whose Journals have ably advocated our principles. From their limited means, the Committee have not been able to do as much in this way, as they could have desired. And unfortunately, from the limited local circulation of the few papers consistently and steadily taking this ground, it has not been in the power of the Committee to make this class of appropriations as effective as they could wish.

ADVERTISING EXTRA—COMMUNICATIONS.

This deficiency has been, in a measure, supplied, however, by procuring the insertion, as advertisements, in leading and widely circulated Journals, not distinctively of our views, of such brief statements of our principles and arguments in support of them, as were considered adapted to arrest attention and stimulate inquiry. Notifications of our Conventions, advertisements of our publications, the Prospectus of our own paper, and sometimes arguments at considerable length, have, in this way, been sent out broad-cast, over the country, and brought before the eyes of hundreds of thousands to whom they were interesting and novel. We are receiving frequent and numerous evidences of the good effects of this class of appropriations, which have amounted to upwards of two hundred and sixty dollars. With the more ample means with which our friends might furnish us, it would be easy to make this decidedly economical method of reaching the whole country, a very effective one.

To a limited extent, our Corresponding Secretary has gained access, as a correspondent, to the columns of Journals devoted to the "non-extension" of slavery—in vindication of our distinctive views, and without incurring the expense of paying for their insertion, as advertisements. But this favor cannot be counted upon as promising a systematic and permanent method of communication either with our friends or with the community.

MONTHLY PAPER.

The Committee have made it a leading item of their operations to publish and circulate a cheap monthly paper, the "Radical Abolitionist." A semi-monthly or a weekly paper has been a topic of consultation, but thus far it has been deemed the most safe, the most practicable, and the most economical expenditure of its limited means, to publish only a cheap monthly, and give it the widest possible circulation. The want of a large weekly is indeed deeply felt. And if the Committee could be reasonably assured of its adequate support, either by subscriptions or by donations to the Society, it would be furnished by them. But they are not in a position to hazard dubious experiments. A small monthly, with well digested matter and in the hands of from ten to twenty thousand persons, may be of more value to the cause than a large and more miscellaneous weekly, in the hands of two or three thousand.—So far as the distribution is to be a gratuity (and the work of making new converts must require much of this) the small monthly, as being cheaper, is all that the Committee, *as now sustained*, is able to furnish. For purposes of promiscuous distri-

bution, in lieu of Tracts, whether by this Committee or by local clubs or societies, sending for them, the cheap monthly rather than the expensive weekly, will be preferred. A weekly and a monthly are both needed—the former to contain the news—the latter chiefly for the exposition and defence of our principles and measures.

In the course of the past year, there have been issued over 147,000 of the "Radical Abolitionist," being an average of over 12,000 copies monthly. Of these only a little less than 5000 are sent to regular subscribers. Over and above the supply of these, the monthly issues are made larger or smaller, according to the existing means of the Society, the importance of the matter in type, and the facilities for circulating the papers to the best advantage. Except to select names, the paper is not sent *regularly* without pre-payment. But large numbers of persons are furnished with a copy of one, two, or three monthly issues, especially when containing matter deemed of special importance. Afterwards *other* persons are in like manner supplied. So that, by this rotation or change, a much larger number of persons, (perhaps not less than 75,000) have probably been reached by our little monthly, during the past year, to say nothing of the frequent perusal, by several persons, of the same copy. When it is remembered that these papers are thus furnished to ministers of the Gospel, statesmen, lawyers, politicians, citizens of public note, and other gentlemen of intelligence and influence, in all parts of the country, large numbers of whom are now, for the first time, in a position and a state of mind to attend to our "radical" views, presented thus to them in a condensed form, and in connexion with passing events, it cannot but be perceived that this is one of the most economical and effectual methods of disseminating our sentiments. Each member of Congress, of both Houses, has been regularly supplied with the paper, during the session of Congress, of whom not more than nine have returned the papers, and only four of these were members from slave States. A willingness to receive and read is thus clearly evinced. And this is a great point gained. Where our arguments are received and examined, we are assured that they cannot fail to produce some effects. They may be hated, but they can neither be answered nor despised. And from such a vantage ground they cannot fail to make rapid progress among candid and liberty loving men.—By the formation of clubs, and by the local contributions of one or of several individuals, stated or occasional supplies of the paper are sent to particular villages or neighborhoods, to be distributed as tracts.—Sometimes there is a special demand for a particular number, as for instance, that of October 1856, containing an article which, by many, was thought to be of particular importance. Our circulation has, in some instances, been promoted by instrumentalities quite unexpected. "Republicans" have ordered supplies, to be used in assisting them to prove that "Republicans" are not abolitionists! And "Democrats" and "Democratic" editors, including some at the South, have thought it useful to make extracts from it in order to show that opposition to slavery-extension, if persevered in, and made

consistent, must, in the end, result in a direct onset against slavery where it already exists. By these means, the knowledge of our peculiar positions has been more widely diffused.

BENEFITS OF FREE DISTRIBUTION.

We cannot dismiss this part of our Report without a word in favor of the full and liberal distribution of radical abolition literature, whether in the form of cheap papers, tracts, pamphlets or books—the disbursement and distribution to be made, either by public spirited individuals, local associations and clubs, or by the Committee and Corresponding Secretary in New York, in proportion to the names furnished them.

The distributions from our office, of pamphlets and tracts, have been made at discretion, as they seemed to be needed. They have been handed to persons calling at our publishing office, or in the Editor's room, and making inquiries concerning our peculiar views, or concerning different branches of the subject, which could not be adequately answered by conversation alone. A brief conversation is closed by handing out an appropriate pamphlet or tract. In many cases, payment is offered and received. In many others, it is thought best to furnish them gratuitously.—In answer, or in part answer to letters of inquiry or discussion, addressed to the Corresponding Secretary, it has been found useful as well as convenient, to furnish printed and documentary arguments.

In the same way, the friends of the cause, in different localities, by being supplied with our cheap publications, may hand them out where they are needed, and under circumstances which will insure the careful perusal of them. There are persons who, in this way, at a comparatively trifling expense, have revolutionized their own neighborhoods in a short period of time.

Some individuals have been in the habit of ordering, at their own expense, a considerable number of copies of our monthly paper, either for persons in their own vicinity, or for individuals in different localities, to be forwarded regularly by mail. Much good has been accomplished, in this way. Many persons to whom the paper has thus been sent for six months or a year have afterwards become subscribers themselves, and have ordered supplies for others. The same is true of large numbers of those to whom, as before mentioned, a few numbers had been gratuitously forwarded by our Committee. Our travelling agents and other friends are frequently sending us select names for such supply, and we could extend the operation much further, if we had the means—*To this instrumentality we attribute the greater part of the progress made in the dissemination of our principles, during the past year.*

We are aware that a sentiment exists, unfavorable to this gratuitous supply. It is said that so long as people can get papers and tracts for nothing, they will not pay for them. It is said, further, that persons will place a higher value upon that which they pay for, than for that which costs them nothing.—These objections, as against a perpetual supply to the same persons, must be allowed to have weight. But they ought not to be urged against the temporary supplies that have been described. By proper efforts of our friends in furnishing

funds, and in designating the suitable persons to be supplied, this Committee might readily reach half a million of voters within the next year, who are, as yet, unacquainted with our particular views. It is hardly to be expected of such that they should send to us for our paper before they have ever known of its existence, or had an opportunity of becoming interested in its contents. As well might Christians expect the whole world to send for supplies of Christian literature before any knowledge of Christianity had been communicated to them. All moral and religious reformations have to be carried on at the expense of those who are intelligently enlisted in them. A rum-drinking and rum-selling community will not pay for the literature and the lectures that are designed and adapted to correct their errors. The same is equally true of the voluntary victims of proslaveryism and caste. And, by the same rule, it is preposterous to suppose that a periodical devoted to the views of radical abolitionists is to be supported, to any great extent, by those who still have confidence in "non-extension" as the panacea of our public evils.—Passing events show us, plainly, that if presses are to be sustained that shall unflinchingly and consistently adhere to our principles, and at the time when their boldest utterances are most needed, their support must be derived from other sources than their own subscription lists. An editor dependent wholly on his subscribers is too nearly in the position of politicians dependent on their constituents, and of clergymen depending upon their pew-holders. In respect to the distinctive truths of "radical abolitionism"—almost the entire country, excepting some portions of New York, is still to be regarded as Missionary ground, and must be cultivated as such, for some time to come. The more liberally and vigorously the work is prosecuted, the sooner will it be done up, and cease to be necessary.

LECTURING AGENTS.

The Committee have done what they could, for the support of competent lecturing agents, but, for the reason already stated, the extent of this operation has been quite too limited. They have had but one lecturing agent, steadily in the field, during the past year. This is Rev. Thomas B. McCormick, lately a citizen of Indiana, who had been virtually driven out from that State by the compliance of its Governor with the requisition of the Governor of Kentucky, who had demanded him to be given up for trial, there, for alleged offences against the "peculiar institution" committed in Indiana! Mr. McCormick's labors have been chiefly in Michigan and Ohio. Rev. Daniel Foster has been employed about five months in Massachusetts and Connecticut, and Rev. J. R. Johnson about seven months in Conn. Rev. M. B. Williams about six months in the State of New York, making about two years and six months of stated labor in all. Besides this, the Committee have paid for occasional lectures, to Rev. A. Pryne of Ohio, one hundred dollars, to Rev. A. B. Burdick, of Rhode Island, for labors in that State and Connecticut, one hundred dollars, to Rev. Beriah Green, of Central New York, twenty dollars.—Besides this, the Committee has been at considerable charges for the cost of conventions, including expenses of reporters and prominent speakers. In all these ways, the

Committee have employed the living speaker to the full extent of their ability, and they have reason to be well satisfied with the result of their appropriations. In this department, as well as the others, they have been sadly crippled for want of adequate means.

LABORS OF THE SECRETARY.

The Corresponding Secretary, besides editing the monthly paper, writing for other journals, preparing pamphlets, and tracts, attending conventions, watching the course of events and the tone of public journals, and conducting, officially, the business correspondence of the Society, has found an interesting field of labor in conversing, personally, with friends of freedom, of different views, from almost all parts of the free States (and sometimes from slave States) who, being incidentally in this central city, have visited the office on various business, or for the direct purposes of conversation and inquiry. In this way, much important information has been collected, and, as is hoped, communicated in return. Not a week passes, and not often many days, in which considerable portions of his time are not profitably employed, in this manner. A still more ample field has been found in unofficial or semi-official correspondence, not merely on business, strictly so called, but also in respect to the general interests of the cause, and to the principles and measures of "radical abolitionists" in particular. Inquiries, received by letter, are thus answered—objections are met and considered, and sometimes, discussions, to a considerable extent, with influential and intelligent persons are maintained. The demand for statistical and historical information on the part of public men, of all parties, has been increasing, and the time of the Secretary is frequently occupied in meeting, variously and so far as he has been able, such demands. He is constantly experiencing the need of some of the important books and pamphlets, of past years, now out of print, as well as of some which still remain to be written. Here, again, is seen the need of more ample funds. Manuscripts already prepared, by different hands, and daily needed, are awaiting publishers, for "the trade" are more profitably employed. The Society must publish them, if they are ever published, at all.

ECONOMY OF LIBERAL CONTRIBUTIONS.

In short, no feasible and economical method of operation, within reach of the Committee, has been left untried. It could do more, and do it more economically, if a much larger amount of funds was at their disposal. The expenses of room rent, of fuel, of office salaries in such a central mart of commerce, cannot but be heavy. And in order to make them lighter in comparison with the transactions, those transactions should be greatly increased. We should employ many more lecturers, and circulate many more books, pamphlets, tracts, and papers, all which might be done, if our friends would but furnish the means. Without adding, proportionately, to rents, fuel or salaries, the operations of the Society might be increased four-fold, and with more than proportionate results. Increase of moral means in an arithmetical ratio, are often known to produce an increase of results, in a geometrical ratio.

RESULTS—PROGRESS OF THE CAUSE.

Of the results of our efforts, within the past year, as compared with our expenditures, we have no reason to complain. The entire receipts, including donations, subscriptions to our paper, and receipts for publications, amounted to only about 6,600 dollars.—We are almost ashamed to record so small a sum—especially as almost half of it has come from a single individual. But we are not ashamed of the results, so far as the diffusion of information, and the increased intellectual reception and avowal of radical abolition sentiment are concerned.

From almost all parts of the non-slaveholding States and from some points in the slave States, we hear of the progress of our principles.—The information comes to us through a variety of channels. It comes to us in letters of business from the subscribers to our paper, and in letters of approval directed to our editor and Corresponding Secretary. It comes by almost daily visitants at our office, from the different States. It comes to us, to some extent, through the columns of the Anti-Slavery press. Our travelling agents, in some regions, meet with very few abolitionists or free soilers who are not forward, in conversation, to admit that the 'radical abolitionists' have, in the main, the true doctrine, and that the time is not distant when it must find expression at the ballot box, though they think that the right time has not yet come. So far as an assent to our views of the illegality of slavery is concerned, the number of dissentients among intelligent friends of liberty is becoming comparatively small. And it is commonly admitted by them that the Constitution is an anti-slavery document, on the whole. The power of the Federal Judiciary over slavery in the States, is also coming to be extensively understood. There is more hesitancy in respect to the direct powers of Congress over the subject. And there is much remaining confusion on the subjects of "consolidation" and "State rights." But the progress of sentiment, on the whole, during the past twelve or eighteen months has been very great. Perhaps the same amount of expenditure and effort, by the opponents of slavery, or the opponents of intemperance, has never before produced, within an equal time, more extensive and more manifest results.

The march of sentiment is visible in the omission, to a great extent, by intelligent editors, of those confident statements concerning "the guarantees of the constitution" and its "compromises" which were so prominent a year or two ago.—It is visible in the changed tone of sentiment in respect to the true meaning of the clause chiefly relied upon to prove the existence of those "guaranties and compromises." We mean the clause concerning "persons held to service and labor." Among friends of liberty, whether abolitionists or free soilers, it is coming to be very generally perceived that the clause cannot, on any fair principles of interpretation, be applied to fugitives from slavery. We find the correct exposition of that clause to be quite current with many who do not yet seem to perceive that in repudiating the old pro-slavery construction, in this case, they have virtually repudiated all the pretended "guaranties and compromises" of the Constitution, or at least have laid a logical foundation for doing so. If

the old construction of this clause is to be abandoned, as, very manifestly it must and will be, then, by the same rules of legal interpretation, applied to the same phrases, elsewhere, the old construction of the kindred clauses will have to be abandoned likewise. The supposed "compromises" and "guaranties" thus disposed of, there can remain no show of reason for refusing or neglecting to give to the Constitutional provisions for securing personal freedom, their unlimited and full scope. The supposed exceptions to their legitimate application will have disappeared, and all "the people of the United States" may thus demand the equal benefit of them, according the letter and spirit of the Preamble and of those protective provisions themselves.

The increase of light on the subject of the Constitution is apparent from the unwillingness of those who hold to the old pro-slavery construction, to meet with "radical abolitionists" in a discussion of its character. The time was, when they were forward to do so. But that time has gone by. This remark applies both to pro-slavery and to anti-slavery men, who hold the Constitution to be more or less pro-slavery.

In Congress, a popular member, belonging to the Republican party, Gen. Granger, delivered some time since, a pithy and pungent speech, in advocacy of the radical exposition—a speech which this Committee has re-published as a tract—yet no member of Congress, Northern or Southern, pro-slavery or Republican, attempted a word in reply. In this case, as in that of the previous speech of Gerrit Smith, to the same point, the walls of the House re-echoed back the doctrines of Radical Abolitionism, but there was not heard a syllable of reply. The New York Tribune, the most widely circulated and most influential Journal of the Republican party, endorsed the doctrine of Gen. Granger's speech at the time, and gave it circulation, though political exigencies made it prudent for the Editor to give utterance to different sentiments, afterwards. Thus ample is the evidence that—intellectually—intelligent men of all shades of sentiment, are deeply impressed with the impregnable character of our position.

Our views of the Constitution have been advocated in Frederick Douglass's paper, Rochester, N. Y., the True American, Erie, Pa., the Reformer, Ravenna, Ohio, the Aurora, New Lisbon, (O.,) and by the Political Abolitionist, (recently commenced,) at Bryan, Ohio.

At the ballot box, we shall not be able to reckon up the numbers of those who have adopted our sentiments, because the greater part of them, in view of the extraordinary perils of freedom in Kansas, and in view of doing something to prevent its utter subjugation to the Slave Power, have thought it best to co-operate with the Republican party, whose platform, candidates, and leading advocates, do not recognise our principles, nor embrace our measures—but, on the contrary, proclaim the policy of letting slavery alone in the States where it already exists. They have done this, notwithstanding the nomination of Gerrit Smith of New York, and Samuel McFarland of Pennsylvania, for President and Vice President of the United States, by a Convention of Radical Abolitionists, held at Syracuse, N. Y., in May last. On the consistency and wisdom of thus

voting, (which have been discussed at length in the "Radical Abolitionist,") we do not design to dwell in this Report, but we hope that after the excitement of the Presidential contest shall have subsided, and its results witnessed, our friends will carefully review the whole subject—that they will remember their promises to renew, vigorously, the propagation of our sentiments, and be prepared, at the approach of another Presidential election, to vote for such candidates as shall leave no room for doubt in respect to their consistency, and their earnest devotion to the cause of the oppressed.

Radical Abolitionist.

NEW YORK, DECEMBER, 1856.

A P P E A L

OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE AMERICAN ABOLITION SOCIETY.

To the Abolitionists of the United States :

Fellow-Laborers—The Presidential Contest is over. Again the Slave Power has triumphed. Again, as heretofore, the policy of mere restriction, while ignoring, rejecting, or postponing the claims of ABOLITION, has failed of its object. Is there not a Providential retribution in this very natural result? "Whoso stoppeth his ears at the cry of the poor, he also shall cry himself, but shall not be heard." What nation ever tolerated oppression, without becoming its victim? What right have we to expect security and liberty for the white man, while we neglect to demand and to secure liberty for the colored man? Or why should we imagine that those who consent to the enslavement of the colored people, may not be induced to yield up the liberties of white people? "Till America comes into this measure," (said John Jay in 1780,) "our prayers to heaven will be impious. This is a strong expression, but it is just. . . I believe God governs the world, and I believe it to be a maxim in His, as in our Court, that those who ask for equity ought to do it." (*Letter from Spain.*) Can we expect, by any efforts of ours, to secure liberty for Kansas, or for any part of the Nation, so long as we consent that the Nation shall protect slavery in the other parts of the Nation, and that it shall stand ready to repress the efforts of colored men who, like our brethren in Kansas, resolve to be free? "The Almighty," (said Jefferson) "has no attribute which could take sides with us in such a contest." (*Notes on Virginia.*) Can we secure liberty for our country, or for any part of it, without enlisting on our side, the attributes of the Almighty? And how shall we do this, unless we urge His demand upon the Nation and its Government, that they "proclaim liberty throughout all the land, unto all the inhabitants thereof"?

Will you not join with us in urging this demand upon all our fellow-citizens? We address you, on behalf of the "American Abolition Society," and its Executive Committee, who are laboring to concentrate the contributions and the exertions of Abolitionists for this object.

Our Annual Report, in the "Radical Abolitionist" for December, will more minutely inform you of what we have done, are doing, and are striving to do. We publish a monthly pa-

per, books, pamphlets, and tracts, and keep a Depository of the same, and of other anti-slavery works,—with an Office for business. We employ lecturers, hold conventions, and variously use the press. We gratuitously furnish members of Congress and others with important documents, and promote the circulation of abolition petitions. In these and other appropriate ways, we incur large expenses, which must be promptly paid. Were it merely to sustain and to continue these efforts, we should be compelled to ask for your steady and punctual contributions. But we ask more than this. It is vastly important, at this juncture, to enlarge, greatly, our operations, at a corresponding increase of expenditure. We wish to present the claims of the slave, to the best advantage, to churches and ministers of religion, to lawyers, civilians, jurists, and statesmen. We would engage the sympathies and influence of woman. We would especially enlist the young men of the country. Portions of the South are now accessible, and present a most important field. Our distinctive views receive marked favor, *wherever they are understood*. "The common people hear them gladly."

WE WANT FUNDS commensurate with the magnitude of the enterprise, and proportionate to the interests involved. Is LIBERTY WORTH PRESERVING? AND HOW MUCH IS IT WORTH? HOW MUCH WILL YOU CONTRIBUTE FOR ITS PRESERVATION? BY WHAT OTHER MEASURES, WITHOUT ABOLITION, CAN IT BE PRESERVED?

Monthly subscriptions are desired.—Local clubs or societies should be formed for the purpose. Monies may be remitted to ARTHUR TAPPAN, addressed to him at 48 Beekman street, New York, where the Society's Office and Depository are kept, and the "Radical Abolitionist" published.

In behalf and by order of the Executive Com.

LEWIS TAPPAN,

WM. GOODELL,

S. S. JOCELYN,

Sub-Committee.

Editors please copy.

WORDS "AFTER ELECTION."

The Presidential contest is now over—and, so far as the candidates are concerned, the question is settled. Buchanan is to be the next President. But the slavery question is not settled. No! Neither is the Kansas question. Whatever its fate, for the present, may be, the *Kansas question is not settled*. Very probably it will not be, till the whole slavery question itself is settled. And this will not be, till the entire system of American slavery shall be demolished.

Suppose the subjugation of Kansas, now in process, should be consummated; and "order" in the despotic sense of the term—established. What then? What will the slaveholders have gained? Why, just this. They will have inaugurated the first specimen of a slave State, a majority of whose bona-fide resident citizens,—the chief proprietors of its wealth, the embodiment of its intelligence, moral strength, and enterprise, will be most intense haters of slavery! And right alongside of Missouri, too, wedging it in, between Kentucky, Illinois, and Iowa, in all of which abolitionists are plenty, and increasing! Better were it for the Slave Power,

to let Kansas come in, quietly, as a free State, on good, cozy, neighborly terms with Slavery, and in the habit of making "compromises" with her, than compel it to throw off slavery, and become a free State afterwards, in spite of them, thus establishing a precedent, and setting an example to the friends of liberty in other slave States.

Is it said that Border Ruffianism, aided or winked at, by the Federal power, would prevent an independent State of the Union from abolishing slavery? If so, at the end of four years, if the North does its duty, we shall have a National Administration of an opposite character. And by that time the example and precedent of Federal "consolidation" for the establishment and support of slavery in Kansas will have quickened our conceptions. In the light of such examples and precedents of Federal power, we shall have learned how the Federal Government may assist the friends of liberty and law, in a slave State, to put down slavery and lawless violence. The problem which now perplexes so many well meaning persons, will have been worked out, not on paper merely, but upon the soil of a slave State, redeemed from vassalage.

That problem, once worked out, in Kansas, ensures its repetition, elsewhere. So, if the fire-eaters relish the experiment—and if they can coax, wheedle, intimidate, or coerce Mr. Buchanan and his Northern supporters into it—let them go ahead! The Nebraska bill well nigh proved their ruin. The enslavement of Kansas would complete it. If they think otherwise, let them try it. One or two more turns of the screw would make the North an unit, on the platform of Radical Abolitionism. Thus much we say to the "unterrified (?) Democracy," as they call themselves. We do not often proffer them advice, but thus much, gratis, is at their service.

A word, now, to "Republicans." You told us that, as Gerrit Smith could not be elected, we should lose our votes, unless we gave them to Fremont. The principle, then, is, that votes are lost unless the candidate is elected! Well, Col. Fremont is not elected. And so, by your own rule, you too have "thrown away your votes." You certainly have, if the rule you laid down for us was ever worth a sixpence.—But do you really think you have thrown away your votes, because you did not vote with the majority? And that you would have saved them by voting for Buchanan? No. You believe no such thing. Your own New York Tribune tells you better. It has now discovered that "Failure is by no means always a defeat." It has discovered that "Policy may be mortal—must be mortal—except it be an embodiment of principle, but truth is eternal as God himself." It tells you that "whether the election (of Fremont) be secured or not, makes no difference with duty"—that "Responsibilities are for men—results rest with God." Now just remember this, four years hence, and don't tell abolitionists, again, that they will "throw away their votes" when they vote according to their conscientious convictions. Leave this folly to those who vote only for the spoils of office, and who, consequently, have no rule for voting but their anticipations of majorities.

And just apply the Tribune's corrected ethics

to your own future voting. To help you here, just take another testimony from another of your prominent Journals, the New York Times. The Times, after alluding to the mobs against abolitionists in this city, in 1833, mentions the names of some of the prominent objects of that violence, many of whom "are still living" and the progress of public sentiment, since that time. The Editor then proceeds—

"What a cheering illustration does this brief review afford of the steady and certain advancement in the popular mind of the great principles of equality, justice and humanity, which underlie the Republican movement. And similar evidences of this progress may be found in a hundred different directions, by any man who will look back a few years, and contrast his own and his neighbors' sentiments then and now. The progress of the cause has kept pace exactly with the advancement of popular education, and the increased intelligence of the masses with respect to political questions; and to-day "the stone which the builders rejected is become the head of the corner." Opposition to slavery, whensoever and wheresoever we have the constitutional power and right to give it expression, is now the sentiment of a vast majority of the people of the Northern States."

Thus sensibly discourses the N. Y. Times. Now, just ask yourselves whether it was wise for your "platform makers," (including the editor of the Times)—whether it was wise for your candidates, your orators and your editors, during the late canvas, to be at pains to disclaim affinities with abolitionists, and the principles and antecedents "which underlie the Republican movement"? You gained nothing by it, but lost much. Your opponents were not conciliated by it. They could give you no credit for earnestness without discrediting your disclaimers. Your best friends were cooled. Those of them who hesitatingly voted with you, were obliged to do so "under protest," and could not exert for you their accustomed strength. You couldn't throw off the odium of abolitionism (those of you who cared anything for human liberty), any more than Peter, in the High Priest's palace, could get rid of his Galilean dialect. Every body knew you would *have to be* abolitionists, if you meant anything but *gammon*, by your advocacy of freedom in Kansas. Abolitionists gave you a divided and hesitant support, because you repudiated them, and their principles, while lookers on, numbering hundreds of thousands, were puzzled to understand what you *did* mean. After all the talk about "localizing" and "restricting" slavery, while letting it alone in the states, the mass of every-day business men have no clear conceptions nor deep convictions of the practicability of such a thing. Your disclaimers of abolitionism have not only been a cold blanket upon the rising enthusiasm of the country, but a puzzling riddle to men of cool calculating common sense, who never want to be bored about some unintelligible round about way of doing a thing without doing it—of stopping a conflagration without putting any water upon it—of preventing the depredations of a herd of wolves by permitting them to run at large, interdicted only by chalk lines! No! gentlemen "Republicans." You must dismiss your half-way policy and temporizing measures. Rally, next time, for the liberties of your whole country—your undivided country—and for the overthrow of the slave power at the South, as well

as at the North. You will then have the co-operation of all the friends of liberty, Northern and Southern. The anti-slavery sentiment in your appeals has been the element of their strength. Your disclaimers and concessions have only introduced weakness.

To Abolitionists who voted for their principles, whether there be few or many of them, we say heartily, "WELL DONE." You may enjoy what none others can—the consciousness of having set an example, which, if followed by a majority of your northern fellow-citizens, would have liberated your country, the whole of it, with all its inhabitants—an example which, had it been followed by only 60,000 abolitionists, would have ensured a sound platform and a corresponding candidate for the next Presidential contest—an example which, if it had been followed by only one-half of the number who voted for Fremont, would have effected more for Kansas, for the slave, and for the nation, than the election of Fremont, on the "Republican" platform, could possibly have done. It would have settled the Kansas question, by convincing the slaveholders that their only hope of retaining slavery, at all, depended on their consenting that Kansas should come in as a free State. More than this. It would have prospectively settled the entire slave question.

Do not be discouraged, then. Do not despise the day of small things. You have only to bide your time, stand firm, and be enterprising. The time hastens when it will be seen and acknowledged, even by such journals as the New York Times, that your fidelity has saved the cause—or that, if lost, it has been lost only for want of others like you—men who know how to stand alone, and to give a helping hand when help is most needed.

To those of you who voted with the "Republicans," we say—Redeem your promises, and come back to us, as you said you would, as soon as the election was over. We heap no reproaches upon you. Come back, and try to do better, next time. In the light of past errors, you can mark out your course for the future. You promised that you would come back, after having voted "just for this once." You thought you could do great good by it. You thought you could save Kansas. But the event shows you that the best way to "do good" is to do right—and that the best way to "save Kansas" is to obey God by voting for rulers who are just, ruling in His fear, and "executing justice for all them that are oppressed." If you seek strength, abide with the Almighty. If you want to have a majority with you, vote with him. He is always the majority. The secret of *political* strength, for a righteous party, and the secret of *spiritual* strength, in the soul of the Christian, is essentially the same. It is unity with the fountain of all strength. All else is weakness and folly.

To all the friends of liberty, Abolitionists and Republicans, we say this. And we ask you to unite on a firm basis. You are often exhorted to be *united*. Our exhortation is the same. And we will show you how it can be done. Follow implicitly the *truth*—what you know and admit to be truth, and let other expedients alone. When we inquire of you, personally, one by one, of your individual be-

lief, in respect to the national sin of slavery—national responsibility for its existence—the duty and necessity of its National Abolition—the Constitutional authority of the National Government to effect this—the great majority of you answer, substantially, alike. You know that Slavery and Liberty cannot much longer co-exist—that the death struggle must come—that it has, in fact, already commenced. You do not mean to give all up, and be slaves. You believe the Constitution is for Liberty and against Slavery. You know what "the higher law" and the Declaration of Independence are. FOLLOW THEN YOUR OWN INDIVIDUAL CONVICTIONS OF TRUTH. That will bring you together, for your moral convictions will be found to be alike. Shape your *measures* in full harmony with your moral convictions. Then you can all act together. But the moment you run away from your *moral convictions* in order to hunt up availabilities and expedients, or to run after artful demagogues, or to form alliances with Tobias and Sanballat, on the plain of Ono—that moment the element of unity has departed from you. Honest men can always unite on their convictions of moral right. But on questions of availabilities and expedients, scarcely any two minds can agree; and a patched-up, artificial, and forced combination, misnamed an agreement or "platform,"—covering up or disclaiming the *Truth* (that *should* have been the bond of union) is all that remains. Away with all this, we beseech you. Be, all of you, honest, earnest, frank, out-spoken, consistent advocates of what you all know to be the *Truth*, and then your unity, without compromise, will be real, will be firm, will be abiding.

HELP FOR KANSAS!

Since all hope of immediate relief for Kansas, by means of the Presidential election, is relinquished, it devolves on the friends of freedom to redouble their efforts by way of CONTRIBUTIONS, in money, clothing, and provisions, for our brethren in Kansas.

Winter is coming upon them apace. There is no time to be lost.

SHALL THERE BE A RALLY?

A rally of Radical Abolitionists, we mean—a NATIONAL CONVENTION from all parts of the country, to consider and adopt plans for the future. Such a measure has been proposed. Abolitionists, what say you? Will you sign a call? And will you attend?—Cleveland, Ohio, has been mentioned as a suitable place for assembling. Friends in Ohio, and beyond the lakes, what say you? Will you insure us a strong rally? Friends in the Keystone and Empire States—will you be on hand by thousands? Friends in New England, how many of you, in each State, will meet our Western brethren at Cleveland?

Speak out, promptly and decidedly, and let us know how the pulse beats. Consult your neighbors, and write immediately.

THE HARP OF FREEDOM. By GEO. W. CLARK. New York—Miller, Orton & Mulligan. Boston—J. P. Jewitt & Co.; and by the author, Rochester, N. Y. pp. 335. Also for sale at the Depository, 48 Beekman street, N. Y.

Mr. Clark has spared no labor or expense to make this new collection of poetry and music acceptable to the friends of freedom. His long and successful practice as a vocalist and composer of music, has enabled him to do justice to the undertaking. The best pieces of our poets of liberty will be found here, set to appropriate airs. The book is got up in a beautiful style, and is embellished with a fine engraving of the author and compiler.

"SLAVERY UNMASKED: being a truthful narrative of a three years' residence and journeying in eleven Southern States," &c. By Rev. PHILIP TOWER. Rochester. R. Darrow & Brother. 1856. pp. 432.

Those who think the dark features of slavery overdrawn in works of imagination, will do well to consult records of facts. Mr. Tower has made some useful additions to this department of anti-slavery literature.

HOW THE "REPUBLICANS" LOST PENNSYLVANIA, &c.—A Philadelphia correspondent of the National Anti-Slavery Standard, has the following:

"The position occupied by the supporters of Fremont was so narrowed down and contracted in their platform and by many of their speakers and papers, that the advocates of Fillmore, in the free States, professed the same sentiments, and in many instances the *Democracy* in anti-slavery sections also expressed a wish that 'freedom should triumph in Kansas.'"

The National Era has a solution of the Republican defeat in Pennsylvania, New Jersey and Indiana, which is not inconsistent with the preceding. It says that in all the other free States the Republicans stood on their own ground, and fought under their own flag, and were victorious; while in the three conquered States above mentioned they tried to strengthen themselves by joining, in some form or other, with the Know-Nothings.

"If the trumpet give an uncertain sound, who shall prepare himself for the battle?" The "narrowed down and contracted" platform of the Republicans laid a foundation for alliances with Know-Nothings, and enabled the "Democracy" to claim that no great benefit to Kansas could result from a "Republican" victory.

All this, which is now seen to have been the occasion of losing the three States, and consequently the election, would have been effectually prevented by a frank, open, and manly abolition platform.

THE PROSPECT BEFORE US.

The results of the late election are compelling attention to the prospects before us. The N. Y. Times, hitherto a very conservative Republican paper, in reply to the Charleston Mercury, says,

"Let the new administration walk in the footsteps of its predecessor—let the repeal of the Missouri Compromise be followed out to its legitimate issues—let Kansas come into the Union as a slave State—New Mexico and the other Territories be seized by slave labor—the various departments of the Federal Government continue to be controlled for the benefit of slavery: let the judiciary come forward and play its appointed part in the rôle, sustaining the Southern

construction of the Constitution, and recognizing the nationality of slavery;—let all these things, which are now on the pro-slavery programme, be carried out, and then the Mercury will see a union of the free States which will sweep slavery, if not from existence, certainly from all share in the political government of the country."—*N. Y. Times*.

Why wait for the "programme to be carried out"—at the cost of a loss of power in the Senate, which it may be very difficult to recover, and without which the future triumph of Constitutional liberty will be problematical? We all know what the slavery party is driving at. Why not commence, at once, a rally in the free States, for the avowed purpose of 'sweeping slavery from existence'—the only way in which, as history and common sense prove—it can be "driven from all share"—and a controlling share, too—"in the government of the country"?

What a pity that such a rally had not been commenced by the "Republican" party, in the late contest! We should have been four years ahead of where we now are. But "better late than never." Let the "Times" go ahead.

A FINGER-BOARD FOR POLITICIANS.

Just look at the following—

"Opposition to slavery, whensoever and wheresoever we have the constitutional power and right to give it expression, is now the sentiment of a vast majority of the people of the Northern States."—*N. Y. Times*.

Then it is high time for the Republican party—if it means to live, and be a party, at all, to lift itself up, to some such sort of a platform.—"The vast majority of the people of the Northern States" have a right to expect it of them. "The vast majority" will not long be without some party that will accommodate them.

"Wherever we have the Constitutional power!" Then the Constitutional question must be examined! Politicians who would not "get astern of the lighter," must bestir themselves, and possess themselves of the documents, as some of the shrewder sort are already doing.—The Abolition Depository, No. 48 Beekman street, New York, is the place at which they may be had. We are receiving orders, daily. Since we commenced penning this article, we have received a five dollar bill for a supply of them. And this comes from a gentleman in Kentucky, of whom we had not before heard. "The people of the Northern States" are not the only people who need, and must have, an out-and-out Abolition party.

Had we polled but 60,000 Abolition votes in "the Northern States" in November—or could we have said that we had a reasonable hope of doing so, we might have heard of a respectable rally in Kentucky.

What a shame that the masses of the friends of freedom should perpetually be pushed back into the region of "non-extension" by timid and cautious politicians! But it will not much longer be so. The humbug of "non-extension" must follow its predecessor and parent—Colonization. The game is nearly or quite played out, already.

DEFERRED ARTICLES.

The following articles were in type last month, but crowded out. They might have been more important before election, but we preserve them, as important memoranda of the

position of affairs, and the tone of the Republican press, during the struggle.

MR. DUNN'S BILL—SLAVERY IN KANSAS—"REPUBLICAN" COMPROMISES.

We are indebted to the New York Daily Tribune of September 29th for the following abstract of Mr. Dunn's bill, which passed the House of Representatives, by the votes, according to the Tribune, "of EIGHTY FOUR of the Republican members," being all of them, we believe except about six, (after deducting Know Nothings and doubtful.

"Mr. Dunn is for Fillmore, and bitterly hostile to the party he has betrayed and deserted. On the 7th of last July he submitted and on the 29th he called up a bill originally proposed by him as a substitute for the Toombs-Douglas Pacification bill, but which he finally pressed as a substitute for Mr. Grow's bill annulling all the bogus "Laws of Kansas." Mr. Dunn's bill proposed

1. To wipe out the Border-Ruffian legislation in Kansas by which the term of the bogus "Council" was protracted till Jan. 1, 1858;

2. To dismiss and restore to private life all the officers and appointees of that bogus Legislature, so soon as a new Legislature should be ready to fill their places;

3. To set free the Free-State prisoners;

4. To annul the most obnoxious of the Border Ruffian laws;

5. To secure homesteads in Kansas to actual settlers, whether native-born or not;

6. To prohibit the entrance of another slave into Kansas;

—but, as the Official Census shows that there were 192 slaves in Kansas a year and more ago, Mr. Dunn's bill continues—

"Provided, however, That any person lawfully held to serve in either of said Territories shall not be discharged from such service by reason of such repeal and revival of said eighth section, if such persons shall be permanently removed from such Territory or Territories prior to the 1st day of January, 1858: and any child or children born in either of said Territories, of any female lawfully held to service, if in like manner removed without said Territories before the expiration of that date, shall not be, by reason of anything in this act, emancipated from any service it might have owed had this act never been passed: And provided further, That any person lawfully held to service in any other State or Territory of the United States, and escaping into either the Territory of Kansas or Nebraska, may be reclaimed and removed to the person or place where such service is due, under any law of the United States which shall be in force upon the subject."

As this bill did not pass the Senate, it has no legal force or existence, but its passage by the "Republicans" of the House, throws light upon the moral power and political tactics of the Republican party, especially in relation to Kansas.—The Tribune's editorial, from whence the above is extracted, commences thus:

"Paul Pry was right—there is no more perilous habit than that of doing good-natured things. Complaisance among all the virtues is that which most rigidly insists on being its own reward—if you are not satisfied with that, you must turn away empty."

The Tribune proceeds to say "Governor Seward, it is well known, took for the key note of his course, on the Kansas question last winter, No compromise. Compromises he urged, had proved unsubstantial—unreliable. You put your finger on one of them, and it is not there."—"Governor Seward's position, was greeted with a perfect howl of rage and denunciation, but he persevered in it to the end of the Session."—"In the House, a different policy prevailed among our friends."

The Tribune proceeds to complain that though the Republicans were "grossly assailed for not supporting some compromise or half-way proposition, yet they are now as vehemently assailed from the stump, because they *did* vote for this half-and-half Fillmore proposition."

All this might have been anticipated before hand. By "abstractionists" it was foreseen and predicted. But "practical business men"—who spurn the guidance of principle—must have their own way, and illustrate their own superior wisdom. There would be some hope, if their own experience could ever teach them anything. The Tribune, forgetful alike of Governor Seward's example, Paul Pry's maxim, and its own record of the results of this experiment (or in despite of all three of them,) winds up its editorial as follows.

"It is difficult in such circumstances to decide on the spur of the moment whether to take half a loaf or no bread; but we believe the Republicans acted wisely and well IN VOTING FOR DUNN'S BILL."

At this rate, we shall prepare to be not very much surprised if we shall see the New York Tribune's opinion, at some future day, that the Republicans have acted wisely in giving up Kansas, altogether, in the hope of saving Nebraska or Minnesota. Why not? Is not "half a loaf better than no bread"?

THE REPUBLICAN PLATFORM.

"I am opposed to slavery in the abstract, and upon principle, sustained, and made habitual by long settled conviction. While I feel inflexible in the belief that it ought *not to be interfered with*, where it exists under the shield of state sovereignty, I am as inflexibly opposed to its extension on this continent beyond its present limits."—J. C. FREMONT.

The above extract of Col Fremont's letter, is going the rounds of the Republican papers; *italicized* and *capitalized* as above. A vote for Fremont is evidently a vote for his platform, and pledges the voter to let slavery alone in the states.

The Boston Journal, in raising the Fremont flag, says:

"We are aided in our decision as to the support of the Presidential ticket nominated by the Republicans by the fact that the Philadelphia platform embraces no principle which has not been again and again affirmed by the Whig party, with which organization we have in times past been proud to act. It puts forth no principle which our own Webster would not have subscribed to, and which, living, he would not have advocated with all the influence of his position. We are further aided in our decision by the fact that neither Fremont nor Dayton are radical men—that their nomination is in fact a triumph of conservatism over the radical elements which entered into the Convention."

"The Republican Platform is a Henry Clay platform."—*N. Y. Daily Times*, July 25.

The Times proves this by numerous quotations from Henry Clay. The National Era is doing the same. A powerful appeal to the admirers of Henry Clay. "That is property that the law makes property!"

If it be throwing one's vote away to vote with a party that cannot succeed for want of a majority, what would it be to vote with a party that cannot succeed in doing any good, even if it has a majority?

The *N. Y. Herald*, (July 26) has one good observation. It is this. The Pierce and Douglass administration—having turned "Squatter sovereignty" out of doors—are now shut up to the alternative of deciding the Kansas question themselves. They must shoulder the responsibility of either making it a slave state or a free state. The Herald bids them do it openly, but notwithstanding the Herald's support of Fremont, it insists that they ought to make it a slave state, so as to keep the balance between freedom and slavery even!—If the Tribune, the Times, and other Fremont Journals should feel scandalized by this advice from their "Satanic" co-adjutor, some one ought to ask them whether their own principles, the principles of their candidate, are such as to enable them to reprove the "Satanic."

If the Federal Government is to tolerate and thus protect both freedom and slavery, why should not the balance between them be kept even? The same number of States on each side?